sociedades civiles y aportando con ello un componente de hibridación y transformación social. Sin embargo, estas otras realidades permanecen frecuentemente en la sombra, como ocurre también con las relaciones interasociativas, es decir, con qué asociaciones de inmigrantes se relacionan las asociaciones de inmigrantes, o con qué organizaciones y actores gubernamentales de la sociedad de acogida y de origen mantienen vínculos las primeras. Igualmente, resulta enormemente interesante conocer qué procesos de transformación se operan en el seno de las propias asociaciones de inmigrantes —como apuntan los textos de Moraes o de Rivera-Salgado—; por ejemplo, el paso de organizaciones culturales a organizaciones políticas, el de organizaciones de base nacional o étnica a otras de base más plural, o la transformación de las asociaciones en otras formas organizativas, como Organizaciones No Gubernamentales de Desarrollo, fundaciones o empresas y cooperativas de servicios.

El camino todavía por recorrer en el estudio de la vida asociativa de los inmigrantes resulta pues apasionante, y el libro coordinado por Luis Escala resulta un excelente punto de partida para ello.

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Michael Herbert Fisher is a historian of late-modern India, and most of his publications engage with the Moghul and the British Raj periods in the subcontinent. Migration: A World History (2014) is his first attempt to publish a monograph on a different topic. It is a short yet ambitious book, with less than 125 pages (excluding notes, bibliography, and index) that covers 200,000 years of global migration history. Its intended audience are undergraduate students without a detailed knowledge of world history. Not to overwhelm the reader with vast amounts of information, Fisher inserts individual narratives of migrants at different times and places. There are also many maps, photographs, and illustrations that help contextualizing the text. The book’s focus is chronological rather than geographical or thematic. The five chapters in which the book is divided cover different historic periods. The first two chapters attempt to summarize the early history of human mobility up to 1450, while the final three chapters cover the last five centuries of worldwide migration trends.

In the first chapter, Fisher encapsulates the “earliest human migrations” from the Prehistory to 600 CE. From their very beginning as species, humans have migrated. The first Homo sapiens formed small nomadic bands of hunter-gatherers. The nomadic foraging lifestyle could only sustain a limited amount of individuals, and so many bands migrated to new areas in search for food and resources in a slow but steady process. By around 40,000 years ago, sapiens communities had reached all the habitable areas of Eurasia and Africa, replacing other human species such as
Neanderthals. Retreating sea levels during the Ice Age formed the temporary land-masses of Sunda, Sahul and Beringia that enabled land migration to Indonesia, Australia and America, respectively. The Neolithic revolution did not stop migration: many humans settled but other groups kept a nomadic lifestyle, or moved between different farming communities. When cities and states emerged, they tried to control population movements through physical barriers and laws. Sedentary groups also caused forced migration, by capturing and enslaving different populations. Often, militant nomadic groups managed to invade and conquered settled areas, replacing the local elites.

The second chapter begins with the history of Islam, as migration is one of its main themes (the Islamic calendar starts with Muhammad’s migration to Medina and devout Muslims must make a pilgrimage to Mecca). The Islamic religion created a cultural area (Dar al-Islam) where migration and mobility were easy, increasing trade and intellectual exchanges. When militant nomadic tribes from Central Asia conquered Muslim countries, they normally converted to the religion of their new subjects. Slaves were deprived of any rights, in opposition to the slaves in the Indian Ocean. European demand for slaves increased their value, and some “entrepreneurial African communities” profited hugely from slave trade. Thus, between 1450 and 1750, a “new Eurocentric world system” was established and “migration had become a global phenomenon as never before in world history”.

Chapter three is entitled “Migrations start to reconnect the world (1450-1750)”. The choice of the word “reconnect” for the title is interesting. It seems to suggest that the world had once been connected and then somehow disconnected itself (the author does not explain this process in detail). The chapter starts with the Ottomans, Safavids and Moghuls empires. They encouraged and forced migration of minorities to their cities and took part in the trans-Saharan and Indian Ocean slavery routes. Russia and China, for their part, encouraged and restricted migration from and within their territories. Fisher jumps then to Western Europe, which experienced many episodes of involuntary displacement, while free migration increased thanks to the abolition of serfdom and new opportunities in the colonies. The migration of European settlers was complemented by the use of slave workers bought in West Africa. These slaves were deprived of any rights, in opposition to the slaves in the Indian Ocean. European demand for slaves increased their value, and some “entrepreneurial African communities” profited hugely from slave trade. Thus, between 1450 and 1750, a “new Eurocentric world system” was established and “migration had become a global phenomenon as never before in world history”.

The fourth chapter goes until 1914. It begins with a series of personal narratives of African slaves in America. Trans-Atlantic slavery was slowly abolished in most Western countries during the nineteenth century. A different form of forced mo-
bility, military conscription, which was perfected during this period. The French and British armies conquered vast regions of Africa, America, and Asia, displacing the local inhabitants and populating their new territories. Meanwhile, elites from all around the world migrated temporarily to Europe for education. The industrial revolution encouraged migration from rural to urban areas. In Europe, war and famine pushed many individuals and families to cross the Atlantic and settle in the Americas. South Africa was another attractive region for white settlers. White settler colonies promoted European migration but banned Asians. The US Chinese Exclusion act (1882-1943) prevented migrants to move to the United States, where there was already a big Chinese community. The main conclusion of the chapter is that during the nineteenth century governments increased control over migration, regulating the numbers and the ethnicities of the people wishing to enter the country, establishing passports, border controls and quotas.

The last chapter covers the twentieth century. For the most part, it focuses on the effects of the two World Wars. It starts by mentioning the millions of colonial subjects who fought for their metropolis during the conflicts, often forgotten by popular representations of the conflict. The World Wars were followed by the struggles for independence of the colonies, that led in some cases to mass displacements, as in India’s partition in 1947, and civil wars. The Spanish, Russian, Nigerian, Chinese and Yugoslavian civil wars, among others, are mentioned. Decolonization also encouraged migration of white settlers to their homelands. Fisher introduces then some international organizations and programs and explains briefly their efforts to regulate migration and provide assistance to refugees. The final paragraphs of the chapter serve as a summary and conclusion for the whole book: “we are all migrants and migration is the core of world history.” Humans migrate for economic and personal causes, but also fleeing war or disaster. Migration sometimes creates tensions and conflicts, and states have increasingly attempted to regulate and channel human mobility.

To conclude, Migration: A World History is a remarkable effort to present human mobility as a global phenomenon common to all historic eras, rather than as an exceptional event prompted by catastrophic circumstances. The information in the book is up-to-date and there is a fair balance between the different regions of the world, resulting in a non-Eurocentric global history. The anecdotes and personal accounts complementing the historical narrative offer an individual and human face of migration that would be missing if the text only referred to significant movements of population. The book, abundant in details, is also accessible to non-specialized audiences and can be a useful introductory text for high school or undergraduate courses on migration or world history. The list of websites and further reading materials included at the end of the book provide a good starting point for those students who wish to take their knowledge further.
However, Fisher’s book also has some limitations. First of all, it may be too ambitious in scope. One hundred and fifty pages fall short in explaining 200,000 years of global human mobility. Second, it lacks coherent signposting. There are no subdivisions and the text flows continuously within the chapters, with the author jumping back and forth between different regions of the world. This may confuse the reader who might already be overwhelmed by the abundance of information. The absence of separate sections surely illustrates how all regions of the world are interconnected and how migration is a global process, but it also creates a lack of clarity and internal cohesion within the text. Third, there is not a clear argument or a significant theoretical approach towards migration. The reader is left with the impression that migration has been, is and will be a global phenomenon, but there is little information on the causes and consequences of migration as a historical process. There are no references as to how other historians have reflected upon migration in the past, nor detailed discussions of migration systems. Not least, whilst the text offers ample descriptions of historic events, they lacks an analytical dimension. The large amount of data Fisher provides has no structure other than chronological periodization. The author does not attempt to categorize, analyse and distinguish between different types of human mobility or explain how they changed over time.

All in all, Migration: A World History is an entertaining book for students and general public with an interest in history. There are other interesting historical introductions to migration in the market, for example Patrick Manning’s Migration in World History (Routledge, 2005); Christiane Harzig and Dirk Hoeder’s What is Migration History? (Polity, 2009) or Massimo Livi-Bacci’s A Short History of Migration (Polity, 2012). Whereas these books have a more analytical approach, they lack the personal narratives included in Fisher’s work and therefore readers without a thorough knowledge of global history or with little interest in theoretical nuances may feel bored after some pages. Thus, Migration: A World History is a good read for non-specialized audiences interested in learning about the individual experiences of migrants throughout history.

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Este estudio es la segunda publicación de la Colección OBIMID del Observatorio Iberoamericano sobre Movilidad Humana, Migraciones y Desarrollo (OBIMID) con sede en el Instituto Universitario de Estudios sobre Migraciones de la Universidad Pontificia Comillas en Madrid. Es una edición ampliada del trabajo publicado en 2016 con el título “Las Migraciones en las Fronteras en Iberoamérica”.